encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching. The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time. Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property. These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

*563 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village
62 units would not have been so important in the local administrative
63 system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by
*563 farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper,
361 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which
632 are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market
443 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here as they do in other parts of the country.

*563 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem
621 farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu-
[443] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a
[632] village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

*563 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways.
621 One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the
771 ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past. At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such
[794] a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

*563 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity.
545 Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The-
621 entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very
*563 much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the
621 mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities.
769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the
[764] Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no re'ation to daily life. Enough for them that today they had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable coverlets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu corridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found that the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres) of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized state farms have been set up so far there.

Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal" exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished. 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little. Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural producer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families. It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.

There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

As to control on the retail level, it is exercised through the various cooperatives and the mobile trading units. As far as the cooperatives are concerned, detailed information is not available. However, a recent report on the state of trade in the rural market, Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu, may well illustrate how deeply the Communist control has penetrated into the rural areas. According to this report, Lo-men-chen is one of the large rural markets in the county of Wu-shan, which lies near T'ien-shui on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. The market is open on every other day, and the number of people coming to trade is usually between five and six thousand. Before the Communists took over, there was no government control over such markets. But under the Communist regime, the following measures have been adopted (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1956, No. 2, pp. 94-96):

1. State Purchase: The Communists demand that farmers or producers sell certain commodities to the state trading companies or their agencies before they may sell elsewhere. Such commodities, in 1954, were grain and oil products.

2. Controlled Markets: The Communists have put five commodities under their direct control. They are grain, cattle, lumber, firewood and hemp. Prices are fixed by those who are in charge of economic control, and trade is conducted mainly on the wholesale level under the supervision of the Communist cadres. The volume of trade of these commodities in 1954 amounted to 276,422 yüan (approximately U.S. $110,000), constituting some 30 per cent of the total value of trade of Lo-men-chen.

3. Free Markets at Fixed Locations: Such markets are conducted in a specific place, and the Communists do not regulate the quantity nor the price. In 1954, the volume of trade in these markets amounted to 448,379 yüan, constituting some 60 per cent of the total value of Lo-men-chen trade. The main commodities belonging to this category are straw hats (seasonal), bamboo and wood articles (mostly farming implements), hemp rope, hemp shoes, vegetables, fruits and chinaware. The participants include the agencies of the state trading companies and the cooperatives.

4. Mobile Free Markets: These include peddlers who are not under government control and do not have a definite place of marketing. Trade of this nature is necessarily on a very small scale, the total volume constituting about ten per cent of the total trade of Lo-men-chen.

It is mentioned in the same report that government control has made remarkable progress since 1953. In 1953, all retail trade of Lo-men-chen amounted to 2,123,682 yüan (NJMP), of which amount the state trading companies handled 3.58 per cent,

the cooperatives handled 2.65 per cent and 93.77 per cent was handled privately. But in 1954, private trade was reduced to 43.02 per cent, state trade increased to 41.55 per cent and that of cooperatives increased to 15.43 per cent, the total being 2,372,936 yüan. In the first five months of 1955, the private trade comprised only 23.42 per cent of the total of 871,234 yüan, and the state and cooperatives handled 74.36 per cent. Although all this is the situation in one single rural community, it can be assumed that it is typical.

The mobile trading units are especially designed for the control of trade in the so-called national minority regions where the people are mostly nomads. They travel from one place to another, to provide the herdsmen with the supplies they want and to buy up their products. According to a semi-official statement concerning the trade in the national minority regions (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79), the Communists aim to achieve two things in this connection. One is to raise the standard of living of the minority peoples by giving them better terms of trade. For instance, the exchange ratios between wool (the main export) and tea and cloth (the main imports) in Hsi-ning from 1950 to 1954 were as follows:

Table X: Exchange Ratios between Wool, Cloth and Tea in Hsi-ning

Years	Price of Wool per 100 catties (yüan)	Exchange Ratio with respect to: 1. cloth (No. pieces per 100 catties/wool)	2. tea
1950	745,700	2.29	11.61
1951	1,042,700	3.09	19.61
1952	1,230,758	3.71	28.13
1953	1,278,825	4.18	34.44
1954	1,258,000	4.18	31.45

Source: Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 3., p. 146.

The other aim is to drive foreign goods out of the national minority regions and replace them with goods made in China. If the Communists really mean what they said, this would lead to a sharp conflict between Chinese and Soviet goods, especially in Sinkiang, where Soviet goods have long been very popular. However, no detailed information on this matter is now available.

C. Evaluation and Prospects

According to Communist propaganda, trade control in the Northwest has been very successful. For instance, they boasted that the per capita purchase of commodities in Liu-lin-chu, Yao-hsien, Shensi, has increased from 345,000 yüan in 1953 to

2: Teichman G-5 (19 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

favourably with many of the young magistrates in Shensi, promoted to their posts straight from the schools or the army through revolutionary influence, and without administrative experience of any kind.

P'ingliang, lying near the head of the Ching Ho valley at an altitude of over 4000 feet, is an important place, an agricultural market town in a wheat-growing region, and the administrative centre of Eastern Kansu. Being the seat of a Taoyin and a General, we had as usual a festive time during our short stay. The town, like most Kansu cities, is half empty, but the east suburb, the Mahomedan quarter, is busy and full of well-stocked shops. It was there that we first noticed the white caps of the Kansu Mahomedans, of whom we were to see so much during the next few months. The prosperity of the suburb compared to the city and their presence there were connected by the fact that until recently no Mahomedan was permitted to reside inside the walls of an official city in Kansu (one of the suppressive measures taken against them after the great rebellion); with the arrival of the republic, however, and its watchword of equality for the five races (Chinese, Mahomedans, Manchus, Tibetans, and Mongols), this disability was allowed to lapse. Frequent reference to the Mahomedans of the North West will be made in the following chapters, but the subject of Islam in China is an obscure and contentious one, and it should be noted that the statements here made are not the product of scientific enquiries, but merely the results of conversations with Chinese, mostly of the official classes, who, though sometimes Moslems themselves, were only acquainted with the superficial facts and popular traditions relating to the Mahomedans and their religion.

I estimate the Mahomedans of Kansu to constitute from a quarter to a third of the total population. They are freely scattered throughout the districts of the province as merchants, especially dealers in horses, but they are settled on the land more especially in two regions, in the South and the North respectively, roughly separated by the Great West Road. In the South they form a kind of Mahomedan wedge between the Chinese and the Tibetans of the Kokonor, centring round Hochou and Hsunhua on the Yellow River; in the North they extend from P'ingliang through Kuyüan, and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Most of the magistrates' yamens throughout Northern and North-Eastern Kansu were dreadfully dilapidated, but the one here was about the worst we saw, being scarcely habitable, and in keeping with the rest of this ruined little city. The magistrate complained that the inhabitants of his district were poor to the verge of starvation.

I was told that the road across the Liupan Shan was made by General Tso to facilitate communications during the campaigns against the Mahomedans, the former route, which is still used to a limited extent, passing from Wat'ing to Kuyuan, and thence *via* Haich'eng and Chingyuan to Lanchou.

From Lungtê to Chingning Chou is a march of 90 li down the valley, which is cultivated but very arid-looking, and dotted with wretched farms and hamlets. There are no trees except those which line the road. The arid climate of North China is often ascribed to the destruction of the forests by the Chinese in ancient days, but it is doubtful whether the loess was ever covered by trees owing to its peculiar consistency; it is certainly quite unsuited for the growth of trees nowadays. Further on the valley becomes quite barren, the ground being covered with a white alkaline efflorescence, and 15 li from Chingning it narrows to a gorge with the path ledged in the hillside, eventually debouching on to a more fertile valley where irrigation is practised. Chingning, a considerable market town, lies in this valley.

On the following march the road turns up a side ravine, climbs a long steep hill to a pass in the loess, and descends through a maze of loess hills to a valley which leads down to the village of Kaochia P'u (45 li); it continues to follow this valley for another hour's march and then turns north-west up a long narrow defile in the loess, a weary trek with repeated little steep descents and ascents in and out of side nullahs, for the rest of the way to Ch'ingchia Yi, 90 li from Chingning, a walled village and former posting stage and fort. These posting stages, with which we became so familiar on the main roads of Kansu, are mostly provided with official rest-houses called *hsingt'ai*, in which we were usually quartered; though very dilapidated they provided quite good accommodation in the summer, being usually uninhabited and therefore free from smells. The

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

over the mountain slopes, and then a sudden bend of the valley reveals the gilt-roofed temples and huge barrack-like constructions of the great monastery. The buildings are, I should say, without parallel in the whole of China for magnificence, solidity, and size, and present a most startling appearance in that wild and sparsely populated region of mountains and grass-lands.

Labrang (Chinese Labalang Ssu) lies at an altitude of about 9000 feet in the valley of the Tahsia River just below the level of the grass-lands which commence immediately to the west. It is a regular town in itself containing over 3000 monks as well as a considerable floating population of visiting Tibetans, hundreds of whom were at the time of our visit encamped in the neighbourhood. The monastery is the most important religious centre between Lassa and Urga, not excluding the better known establishment of Kumbum (T'a-erh Ssu) near Hsining. It contains a university which attracts students from all parts of Tibet and Mongolia, and even Siberia. The monastic authorities exercise control over the neighbouring Tibetans and until recently over Chinese as well. Of late, however, the chief lama, a Re-incarnation (referred to as a Hutukotu by the Chinese), has fallen much under the influence of the Mahomedans of Ho Chou, and the monks are no longer as unruly and hostile to foreigners as formerly; at the time of our visit they had even applied for the establishment of an agency of the Chinese Post Office at Labrang. All the same it is advisable for foreign visitors to be provided with an introduction from some Tibetan or Mahomedan authority. A li or two from the monastery is the usual Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, bazaar. These large monasteries on the Kokonor border are commercial as well as religious centres, and the Chinese trading villages attached to them resemble in a way the foreign settlements attached to Chinese cities opened to foreign trade. This border trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Mahomedans, and even where the Chinese take a hand in it, it is through the agency of Mahomedan middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, who travel amongst the Tibetans further west, and barter Chinese wares for their produce, especially wool. There are many queer tales about Labrang to be heard locally.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

the muleteers now came to the rescue; and in a short time all was in order, so that, apart from the fact that the feet and legs of man and beast were encased in a sheath of thick mud, which gradually hardened to the consistency of plaster of Paris, no damage was done.

The Sian plain is a fertile land, with vast wheat-fields, where in late autumn the persimmon groves make a beautiful picture. The widespreading foliage of dark glossy leaves, symmetric in form, together with the golden fruit hanging in profusion from the bending boughs, are very distinctive features. The wayside food, also, was the best we had met with in China, and before long we entered the pear-growing district around Pinchow, where extensive orchards stretch for miles on all sides. Here, besides filling every chink of our luggage with the pears, we considerably added to that elastic quantity known as 'hand-baggage,' and for several days we pillowed our heads on lumpy sacks of the fruit.

A few hours before entering the border of Kansu, we passed a number of booths in which were sold numerous small articles carved from the wood of the jujube tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), which supplies a fine quality of dark, red wood pleasing to the eye, and so hard as to be almost indestructible. A plantation of these trees surrounds a temple backed by enormous rock, on which has been carved the figure of a gigantic sitting Buddha. After wandering around and between its huge feet, we climbed the many flights of steps leading to a gallery on a level with the prodigious face. This Buddha forms one of a group of three colossal images, the chief of which, within Tibetan fastnesses, stands—with foot thrust forward—waiting for the appointed hour when he must move towards his sleeping brother, reposing outstretched, in a temple of distant Kansu. Him he must

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

simultaneously lit, the pipe produced, and the pillows spread for the wretched feast. This town might easily be one of the most prosperous of Kansu, being the centre of the lamb-skin trade, and at mid-January the merchants come from all quarters to buy the tiny, soft skins of the lambs, killed on the fourteenth day of their existence. Large sums of money change hands in Yungchang, yet all is consumed in smoke, and spent upon that which satisfieth not. The men are gaunt and dishevelled, the women keep indoors for lack of decent clothing, and Yungchang supplies the slave market with its required commodity of little girls for the great cities.

We were leaving our inn one morning, when some Chinese called our attention to the fact that a foreigner, 'one of your own people,' was begging at the door. We found a crowd collected round a ragged Russian, who was begging his way to Peking. The road over which we were travelling was the *Via Dolorosa* of the Russian refugees, who, driven forth by poverty or unwillingness to register their acceptance of the Soviet rule, find themselves homeless exiles on the face of the globe. For some months before our arrival a great stream of suffering humanity poured down this highway, in every stage of poverty and utter destitution. Until the great war of 1914, the peoples of the East were under the delusion that race-solidarity, which in them supersedes the instinct of individual nationality (strong though that be), was also impregnable in the West. From this time, however, European prestige was entirely shattered; and the sight of homeless, penniless whites swelling the ranks of Chinese beggars, and of helpless women becoming the concubines of Chinese men, was a violation of their sense of fitness: nor have the common people ever recovered from the shock caused by these unthought-of proceedings.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

The population, as in all these cities of the North-West, is largely composed of Chinese from distant provinces who hold the main part of the trade in their hands. The Kansu man is the agriculturalist, but each village-centre offers scope for the trading capacity of a Honan or Shensi man, who opens a small shop in which he does a large business as grain-merchant and money-lender. The farmer values the services of this fellow-countryman, who helps him out of many difficulties, but hates the oppression of the Tungkan or Huei Huei—by which name the Chinese Moslem is known. The origin of the Huei Huei is disputable; they are a vigorous race of men, to whom the Chinese Government at one time made grants of land. They entrenched themselves in South Kansu, were responsible for the Mohammedan rebellion and massacres, and though quelled for a time they have so reasserted themselves as to now hold many of the important official positions in the North-West. Their regiments are feared by the local people, from whom they seize produce, grain, and animals, requiting them with personal violence if they dare to question the right of might.

An illustration of the high-handed dealings of the Huei Huei is supplied by the incidents which brought one of our women students into the Christian circle. She, a young woman with one small child, was married to an elderly man, who was both an opium-smoker and a gambler. Their little home was in a courtyard which backed Dr. Kao's dispensary. Her husband, after losing all his money in a gamble with a Huei Huei, put her up as the stake, and lost. She came to know of this, and when her husband spoke of going away from home for a few days, knew at once that this was a prearranged plan for the Moslem to come and claim her. She had no redress nor court of appeal, so she

361 563 443 Dankar is a most interesting place, compared to the eternal monotony of other Chinese cities and city dwellers. And no wonder. It is the most important gate into Northeast Tibet! There is no other city until one gets to Tatsienlu in the south that has such convenient connecting roads into the interior of Tibet as well as into the rich trade sources of the lowlands toward the coast. Not only the nomads living around the Koko Nor, but also the Tsaidam Mongols, even those from Tätschinär, Lhasa merchants and inhabitants of the Tibetan province of K'am all come to Dankar. They all get edibles, primarily. For many tribes the market place of Dankar, or Dunkur gäsching, as they say, is almost the only /180/ place where they can trade in their wool, skins and salt for their annual supply of flour, tea, and luxury items. The Tibetans of the northeast have become economically completely dependent on the Chinese.

485 437 631 The practical-mindedness of Chinese officials, which is always bent on the cheapest possible management, has drawn its own advantages from this and prepared its administrative regulations accordingly. From olden times there has existed in Dankar the arrangement of the hsië dia (hsië kia) (1), that is, officially-recog-

1. hsie means "to rest"; kia means "house" or "family" (pronounced dia in the Hsining dialect).

nized lodgings for nomads. In former times each tribe even had its own particular hsië dä where only the members of one tribe might live as long as they were in the city. Today this system has changed insofar as the nomads may freely choose their hsië dia, but everyone still adheres strictly to the rule that Tibetans and Mongols do not use the ordinary inns, but that these are open only to Chinese. There are about thirty hsië dia in Dankar. Their innkeepers, Chinese or Mohammedans, must buy the right to house Tibetans or Mongols from the Chinese municipal board. They are wealthy people who, besides a spacious house also have large stables and cattle yards with room enough to take in a Tibetan with 300 yaks who arrives one day and a Mongol who arrives the next with almost as many camels.

The hsië dia arrangement is ancient. We learn about it also from Huc and Gabet, the two French Lazarists who came to Dankar in 1845 dressed as Mongolian lamas. Huc tells definitely that as a Mongol he could find shelter only in such a house. In the

N.w.China AF13
Tu ren

yüan bu. A single day's horseback ride took me there. (1) 361

1. Prschewalski's Yjam bu. In Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, translated by Stein, the Tu ren which I am about to describe are spoken of as Daldy, Doldy and Tunschen, and Prschewalski believes they originated in Samarkand and are a mixture of the Aryan and Mongolian race.

This Wei yüan bu is a little market town, ninety lis distant from 361
the city of Hsining fu toward the north-northeast, and is geologically 133
in the same red tertiary clay basin as the prefecture city of Hsining and the monastery Gum bum. The edge of the basin is about 10 kilometers beyond on the north and east and it is only there that one again finds granite and slate looming up out of the loess-covered tertiary. Thus, from north to south the width of the red clay of the Hsining fu basin is 50-60 kilometers. In modern times these red strata were split up into so many valleys and ravines that even this tertiary region has now become a bizarre mountain country. The material is so soft that the valley bottoms of the larger streams have been washed out to form wide beds. At the spot where Wei yüan bu is situated a large plain several square kilometers in size has been formed by the union of two such broad-bottomed, fruitful valleys. This undoubtedly accounts for the location and the importance of the place.

For, Wei yüan bu is an important town. It can even be called 361
a small city. It has a civil official who is now under the hsien of [624]
Hsining, it is the seat of a captain and second lieutenant, it has a city wall, a full half-dozen pawn shops, and all kinds of craftsmen. Above all there are important whiskey distillers among its inhabit- [274]
ants, who export their product as far as Lanchow and far into Tibet, and /246/ many mill owners whose mills, like those throughout East Tibet, are characterized by vertical axle trees and horizontally placed paddle wheels. In the census of 1895 the town had 820 fami- [162]
lies. For me Wei yüan bu was important as the present-day chief town and market-place of the Tu ren who are under the administra- [443]
tion of the hsien of Hsining.

Tu ren (tu jen) literally means "earth man." It is a Chinese 563
word and means "a resident." It refers to those people who were 167
already in the country before the last Chinese inundation. This last large immigration of Chinese began in the Mongol Dynasty (1260-1368) and still continues.

last the heavy bastions with the terribly long row of battlements, 000
the city of Hsining fu, this thousand-year-old fulcrum of Chinese power on the borders of the eternally restless mountain folk of Tibet, rose up in front of me.

Just as I entered the gigantic west gate at the head of my imposing band of servants with all my mules, horses and dogs, and trotted down the narrow muddy streets of the city, other guests arrived who had come up from the distant lowlands of China, a band who had traveled faster than we and were nevertheless not tired from the long journey; in fact, at the end they were so overjoyed at the magnificent sunset that they made lengthy detours around the Chinese city. Hundreds of mighty brown Milanen had arrived who were now hovering about in haughty groups. With hoarse whistles they announced to mankind the coming of spring.

Now it was high time to begin my summer expedition. Now, up there on the cold high steppes of Tibet the longed-for green was soon to appear, which was so essential to the success of my plans, which was to help me solve my distant, important problems.

Early the next morning I began my new preparations. This was the actual start of my big journey, now I was to spend a long time in the "Ts'ao ti," the vast grassland which Tibet and its endless high steppes are generally called in Hsining. First of all I was again obliged to spend days haggling with grain and peas merchants, with millers and macaroni makers. I shopped for food supplies, barter goods, tools and implements which were supposed to last me and my companions for a whole year.

The thing that made it so endlessly difficult to equip the expedition was the pettiness of Chinese trade. In Hsining fu there are no wholesale merchants. It is a city of officials, not a commercial city. No one could take care of a large order. I had to buy up everything in small quantities and deal with a great number of purveyors, and, of course, not one of them realized that time is money. Not one of them displayed any of the generous, speculative mentality which we are accustomed to find in the coastal Chinese. They are clumsy peasant folk, these people in the rich granary of the Hsining Valley. With slow peasant craftiness, with thousands of mean artifices and tricks they sought to squeeze out as much as possible for themselves. /259/ Sometimes there was bran, sometimes even sand in the flour I ordered or in the rice. The Kansu people are used to controls even in the most insignificant details; they hoped that

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443 with me this would not be the case. A Chinese never trusts another
437 Chinese. The workmen as well as the merchants of Hsining were completely unreliable.

My patience was put to the supreme test when it came to the matter of payment. At times the silver scales seemed to them inadequate and inaccurate, sometimes the silver and copper coins were regarded as too poor. Thus, a felt-maker once demanded that I accompany him into three different shops in order to have the silver pieces which were owing him re-weighed and examined - in all three shops, of course, the scales were slightly at variance - and when I had given him the heaviest weight, the man was still not convinced that he had not been cheated, for he suddenly wanted the entire payment in copper money, in other words, in individual cash. He was satisfied only when he had discovered, after lengthy calculation, that my copper cash pieces which I had obtained from the nearest bank were eight per thousand less than the current exchange and demanded that I make good the difference.

When I decided to pay only through my Chinese bank, because of these time-consuming trade nuances, the fault-finders increased because the silver which the bank paid on my drafts was not as good and pure as my own silver which I had brought from Lanchow and from the coast and deposited in the bank. But if I paid in cash some parties felt that my silver was too white and shiny, others, that it was too yellow or too gray. How often in those days I trotted to the silversmith in order to have a piece of silver worth about 3 or 4 marks pounded up in order to demonstrate again and again that my silver was really genuine and not mixed with lead.

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122 My courtyard in which my mules and horses were staked resembled a small military encampment in those days. Saddlers and tent makers, shoemakers, carpenters and smiths had set up their workshops round about me. My entire caravan was so equipped that it did not differ in the least from an ordinary Tibetan caravan. I would not permit any of it to look the least bit European. Mistrustful Tibetan eyes should not notice anything at all strange about it.

I had decided, chiefly because of the expense, to use yak oxen as pack animals for the food supplies (Plate LIX). They carry less, go very slowly and cannot travel long hours at a time, but their initial cost is less and they need much less care and attention than horses. And did I not, after all, want to travel slowly in order to become well acquainted with the country? Yaks are the original beasts of burden of Tibet. They are accustomed to its poor, short